The People's Korea

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PRESS DIVISION

Int'l Conferences Support Bi-System Confederation

The new bi-system reunification proposal made by President Kim Il Sung was supported by an enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Liaison Committee for the Independent Peaceful Reunification of Korea held on Jan. 30 and 31 in Belgrade.

The plan to reunify Korea by founding a Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo (DCRK) won support at international meetings in Belgrade and Geneva.

An enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Liaison Committee for the Independent Peaceful Reunification of Korea (ILCIPRK) was held on Jan. 30 and 31 at the Sava Conference Center in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

The conference was attended by delegates of reunification-support bodies from about 20 countries. (See Page 3)

A 5-point resolution and a 4-point action programme for 1981 were adopted, supporting the proposal for founding the DCRK.

The conference also reached agreement on the convocation of a third conference for the independent peaceful reunification of Korea.

The action program defined the orientation of activity in part:

With a view to realising the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, it is necessary to put an end to the military fascist rule and bring democracy to the south Korean society.

The action for the withdrawal of the U.S. troops poses itself as the predominant demand which requires the mobilization of the International Liaison Committee, the national committees and all the forces which want a veritable work for the solution of the Korean question.

A telegram of protest was sent to President Reagan denouncing the U.S. trip of Chon Du Hwan and demanding a positive step for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

"Our task is to put an end to the suppression of democracy in south Korea and the U.S. troops' occupation," said Mr. Lucio Luzzatto, President of the ILCIPRK.

He said:

"The proposal puts forward that Korea should be reunited thanks to the establishment of the Confederal Republic in which the north and the south will be granted equal rights and in which both parties will be invested with the same rights and duties for the respective implementation of regional autonomy subject to the fact that each of them recognizes and tolerates the ideology and the system of the other party."

Guy Dupre, Deputy Secretary General of the Permanent Secretariat of the ILCIPRK reported on the activities on the committee.

In his report, he pointed out, "We have today more than 260 committees supporting Korea's reunification in over 70 countries and a number of international organizations supporting Korean reunification have been drawn into our activities," and added, "... the results in 1980 indicate that more than 12,000 initiatives were taken in above 130 countries and international organizations."

He declared:

"This fact shows that the Korean problem constitutes today one of the essential questions of the international political problems and the solidarity movement for support to the reunification cause is assuming international nature."

The Geneva conference was held on Feb. 5, attended by a large number of representatives of over 20 non-governmental organizations and individual figures.

The meeting was presided over Ms. Edith Ballantyne, General Secretary of the International Federation of Women for Freedom and Peace and Chairman of the Conference of Non-Governmental Organization qualified for consultative arrangements with the U.N. Economic and Social Council.

"The purpose of the meeting," the chairman said, is to "deepen the understanding" of the Korean people's sufferings caused by the division and "their struggle for national reunification and find a way to extend necessary support."

The continued division of Korea is further heightening tension in the world," Ms. Ballantyne said. "The withdrawal of the foreign troops from south Korea will alone help create a favourable climate for the reunification of the Korean Peninsula."

The north-south joint statement of 1972 carries very great significance in the Korean people's struggle for national reunification, as it is based on the three principles—independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, the chairman stated.

She expressed full support for the latest reunification proposal set forth by the DPRK President Kim Il Sung at the 6th Party Congress of the WPK last October. She stressed that the proposed plan reflects the specific reality in which differing ideas and systems exist in north and south Korea.

The reporter called for greater interest in the settlement of the question of Korean reunification, and urged the need to generate stronger international support for the Korean people's cause of national reunification.

The rostrum was taken by the following persons: the General Secretary of the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations; the President of the International Liaison Committee for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea; representatives of the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students; and the Deputy General Secretary of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization.

The General Secretary of the International Youth and Student Movement for the U.N. demanded U.S. military withdrawal from south Korea in accordance with the resolution adopted at the 30th Session of the United Nations General Assembly and called the replacement of the armistice agreement with a peace agreement essential for the smooth solution of the Korean reunification question.

A communique adopted at the special meeting said:

"... the division of Korea has caused a tragic situation which prevents people including relatives living in the two parts of the Korean Peninsula from having normal social contacts.

"... an urgent demand is to keep creating the situation in favour of the cause of Korean reunification for a genuine and durable peace in the Korean Peninsula and the world.

"We should direct deep attention to all the realistic proposals based on the genuine desire for the peaceful reunification and extend support to them."

Amnesty International Launches Campaign against Human Rights Violations in S. Korea

Compiled from AP & UPI

Amnesty International March 1 announced an urgent worldwide campaign to end the continuing torture, imprisonment and other serious human rights violations against political opponents of the south Korean "government."

The London-based human rights organization said it would urge professional and trade groups to join "a drive to alert the world public to continuing abuses in south Korea."

"Amnesty International's concerns over the violation of human rights in south Korea have remained constant in recent years in spite of various legal changes and changes of government," an Amnesty spokesman said.

Stressing it had tried to send a mission to the country last July to investigate reports of mass arrests and torture but was refused entry, Amnesty said the only step left was to "mobilize international public opinion."

This, it said, was possibly the last hope of protecting victims against a systematic harassment of dissidents by south Korean authorities.

"Amnesty has the names of 545 political prisoners now believed detained by the Republic of Korea. Many of them are prisoners of conscience. A number are under death sentence," said the spokesman.

In a 43-page report entitled "Republic of Korea: Violations of Human Rights," Amnesty International listed scores of specific allegations of torture against high school teachers, clergymen, lawyers, novelists and journalists.

"Many of these people have been imprisoned for the peaceful exercise of their rights to free speech and association under successive governments and should be released immediately," Amnesty argued.

Some of those imprisoned, the organization added, were "tortured tried on vague charges behind closed doors and given long sentences or the death penalty, often on the basis of false confessions."

Defendants were also generally denied the chance to present a proper legal case, the group added.

The publication lists often grisly some testimony from prisoners. Amnesty said have been tortured.

Methods inflicted included upside-down hangings, beatings, burnings with lighted cigarettes, sleep deprivation and choking by being forced to drink from a running shower.

Amnesty emphasized that torture is still used during interrogation "to force prisoners to make false statements" or merely "as a means of intimidation."

Amnesty also said it was "concerned about the application of the death penalty" in south Korea. Although executions are permitted by law for certain serious offenses, including murder, espionage and armed rebellion against the state "the speed in proceeding with execution is unusual," the international human rights organization said.

Amnesty said that despite the lifting of martial law, hundreds of lawyers, journalists, university professors, students and clergymen have been arrested in recent weeks and it said it has written to president Chon Du Hwan to protest

Foreign Press Comments on S. Korean "Presidential Election"

The Indian Express on south Korean "president" Chon Du Hwan's "victory" in the recent electoral college election:

"President Chun's landslide victory ... confirms his contempt for credibility. There was not the slightest doubt that the general would win hands down in what was virtually a one-horse race.

"To secure more than 90 percent votes in a country which only some months ago witnessed a bloody and widespread uprising for democracy may impress President Chun's ardent supporters in Washington but it is most unlikely to impress his own suppressed people.

"For a country that has seen unbroken dictatorships for more than a generation, the constitutional provision of only one seven-year term for the President may suggest light at the end of the tunnel. But having seen two preceding presidents, Syngman Rhee and Park Chung Hee, make and break similar promises, the people of South Korea cannot but view President Chun's new regime as the beginning of another long, dark night."

Tass on Feb. 25 carried an article denouncing the "presidential election"

It said

Chon Du Hwan, boss of the Seoul military clique who grabbed "power" in south Korea after the assassination of dictator Pak Jung Hi in October 1979, has become the new "president" of south Korea for a term of seven years. Nearly all the members of the "electoral college" "elected" a fortnight ago voted for him on February 25. The result could not be otherwise. Because all the rivals of Chon Du Hwan for the post of the "president" had been removed from the political scene long before the "election" farce. Kim Dae Jung, the well-known leader of the opposition forces in south Korea, who was a most dangerous rival, had been even sentenced to death on faked-up "charges". This sentence was commuted to life imprisonment at the last moment.

Successes and Prospects of Socialist Economic Construction In DPRK

Economic Construction in The 1970's

(The 1970's from the 5th Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea held on Nov. 2, 1970 to the 6th WPK Congress held on Oct. 10, 1980)

Unlike in the 1960's marked by a "high-growth" world economy, in the 1970's world economy faced the oil crises and stagflation from the beginning and continued to suffer from them until the end of the decade.

The recession seriously affected both capitalist countries and the Third-World countries with weak economic foundations. Moreover, it exerted a far-reaching effect on the economies of socialist countries.

Socialist countries had been regarded as free from recession, inflation or unemployment problems. However, in this period, difficult economic conditions in socialist countries suffering from these problems were widely reported.

J.K. Galbraith, professor emeritus at Harvard University, stated that the present economic difficulties override the political ideologies of capitalism and socialism. Many people share the same view as the professor's that recession appears to be a global problem, irrespective of social systems.

It was in the 1970's that the superiority of socialist economies was seriously questioned, and even today, in the early 1980's, these problems still remain unsolved. Considering this situation, it is worthwhile to examine the way the DPRK advanced in the past ten-year period and to study the significance of socialist construction and a self-reliant national economy in the DPRK.

In this period, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the DPRK completed the 6-Year Plan (1971–1976). After an interval of one year, it started the Second 7-Year Plan (1978–1984). Already the tasks set for the first three years of the new economic plan have been fulfilled three months ahead of schedule.

Most other socialist countries make economic plans every 5 years. They clearly indicate key points in each plan. These plans are called "priority plans." Unlike these socialist countries, the DPRK, with its goal set for the completion of socialist construction, sets out tasks in each economic plan period to develop the economy step by step to attain the ultimate goal. Periods of plans are different depending on tasks set out for each plan.

In the light of the results of the 6-Year Plan, the first three years of the Second 7-Year Plan and the President's report to the 6th Party Congress, basic conditions for a completely victorious socialist society are (1) to eliminate distinctions between urban and rural areas, (2) to substancially raise the standard of people's material and cultural life by strengthening the material and technical bases; (3) to eliminate the moves of hostile classes and corrosive effects of the old society.

TABLE I

Use of Tractors Country by Country (Per 100 ha./1977)	
US	2.4
China	0.2
Japan	21.7
USSR	1.1
France	8.0
Italy	9.8
W.Germany	1.8

(1) Successes in Industry and Its Characteristics

The DPRK's economic successes in the 1970's are characterized, first of all, by the fact it successfully accomplished tasks of the technical revolution in each period.

During the 6-Year Plan period it already fulfilled the tasks of the technical revolution for this plan and once the country has been developing this revolution further. Tasks set for the technical revolution were:

First, to narrow down the differences between hard labor and light labor; second, to reduce the differences between agricultural and industrial labor; and third, to liberate women from the burden of domestic chores.

It is widely-known that the technical revolution is part of the task of restoring man's humanity. The technical revolution is aimed at liberating workers from natural restraint in their labor life and labor conditions which occupy a greater part of their living.

"In the future, we have to seek for not material wealth but spiritual values such as cultural values and something people feel worth living for," Japanese DPRK critic Hoshino Yoshiro said. Though there is a saying, "Food first, culture next," yet his argument is worthy of note because it strictly criticizes commitment to economic values in capitalist countries. I also agree with him.

I think the essence of the technical revolution lies in the fact that they link a struggle for "restoration of humanity" and "rich humanity" with economic construction.

The technical revolution was put forward in the DPRK after it had gone through three big stages in its economic construction. The first stage was the technical renovation period (the 5-Year Plan, 1957–1960) in which the bases of socialist industrialization was consolidated. The second stage was the period of completing technical renovation (the first 7-Year Plan, 1961–1970) to equip all domains of the national economy with modern techniques.

After preparing all the technical and material conditions, it entered the technical revolution period (the 6-Year Plan, 1971–1976).

Priority in the technical revolution, was given to the improvement of the economic sectors where heavy labor, high-temperature labor and other bad working conditions harmful to workers still existed.

In the early 1970's heavy labor was found in the mining and forestry industries and transportation, and bad working conditions harmful to workers, including high-temperature labor, in the metallurgical, chemical and cement industries.

Machines in these industries were modernized and were made larger in scale. To eliminate bad working conditions, great attention was paid to making all production equipment and processes automated or remote-controlled. This plan was put into practice first in the Hwanghae Iron and Steel Complex, leading steel producer of the country in N. Hwanghae Province, and other factories followed suit.

TABLE II

Application of Chemical Fertilizer Country by Country (Per ha./Kg/1977,78)	
Japan	428.1
US	99.5
USSR	77.6
France	277.6
W.Germany	422.0
UK	287.6
Holland	737.3
Poland	241.0
China	74.3
Thailand	15.6
Indonesia	35.0
India	25.3
Average	68.0

With reliable support by industry, the technical revolution in agriculture was accelerated at a fast pace. Irrigation was completed during the Five-Year Plan period and electrification in 1969. Mechanization and chemicalization were the main tasks of agriculture in the 1970's. By the mechanization of agriculture is meant to provide as many tractors as possible to the wide areas of agriculture. After the completion of the Kumsong Tractor Factory in S. Pyongan Province (Jul. 1973) the output of tractors was increased. Last year, the number of tractors reached 7 per 100 ha. in mountainous areas and 6 in intermediate areas.

The DPRK ranks high among countries of the world in the penetration of tractors.

(See Table I)

Together with tractors, rice-planting machines, rice harvesters, maize-planting machines and other farm machines are provided to all farms.

Plowing, thrashing, fertilizer pulvelizing and transportation are all mechanized. A bout 92 percent of the rice-planting work in the country is done by machines (as of 1975). In Japan, rice-planting is mechanized for 76 percent of the farms (1978).

The DPRK uses three-element fertilizers and microelement fertilizers. Per-hectar amount of chemical fertilizer application in the country was 1.5 tons last year. This was the highest in the world.

(See Table II)

Active studies are now being made to develop agricultural chemicals not harmful to man or animals. Weed killers were provided to 55 percent of the country's agricultural fields in 1975, and last year they were applied to 97 percent of the paddy fields.

Since several years ago, the agricultural method of using large quantities of agricultural chemicals and fertilizers have been questioned, because grains produced by such a method often harm people's health. To prevent such a hazard, chemical fertilizer and compost are mixed at a ratio of 1:20 in the DPRK.

Today, mechinization and chemicalization of agriculture in the country are nearly completed and differences between agricultural and industrial labor have been narrowed down.

Liberating women from the burden of domestic chores is one of the main tasks in the technical revolution. While building more kindergartens, nurseries and other service facilities for women, the country developed the food-processing and daily necessities producing industries. Women of the DPRK play important roles in society alongside men.

(To be continued)

Mechanization of agriculture is near completion in the DPRK. Many modern agricultural machines including tractors, rice-planting machines and rice harvesters are provided to all farms in the country. Photo shows farmers driving a rice harvester.

Choson Sinbo President Passes Away

Mr. Chong Un Ryong, President of the Choson Sinbo Company, the largest Korean newspaper syndicate in Japan, passed away on Mar. 2, at the age of 63 at his Kanagawa home.

The publisher of The People's Korea and other papers was born at Okjong-myon, Hadong county, South Kyongsang Province, south Korea. His family was a poor peasant.

With no proper educational background, he educated himself very hard and read books avidly.

He became chairman of the ad-hoc preparatory committee for the Ibaragi Prefectural Headquarters of Choryun (the Union of Korean Residents in Japan) immediately after the August 15, 1945 liberation of Korea.

Later serving as director of youth affairs of the local organization, he was deeply involved in the organization on May 25, 1955 of Chongryun (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan).

His role was significant in the revival of the publication of The Haebang Sinmun (the predecessor of the present Korean-language daily Choson Sinbo) in 1952.

Mr. Chong worked with the Ibaragi Korean High School as its deputy director of its Educational Association from June through October, 1956.

The late Mr. Chong Un Ryong, President of the Choson Sinbo Company

He was asked to join the Choson Sinbo Company in November, the same year as its management director. He was promoted to president in June, 1973.

He was awarded many state decorations and medals by the DPRK Government in recognition of his merritorious services to the nation. He led his company to win the Order of Kim Il Sung, the highest order of the DPRK.

His funeral services were held at the company auditorium on Mar. 5 with Chongryun Chairman Han Duk Su and many leading personalities of Japanese mass media.

His death was reported by major dailies of this country.

Yugoslav Meeting Supports DCRK Concept

Report

An Enlarged Meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Liaison Committee for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea Supporting the Proposal for Founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo was held on Jan. 30 and 31 at the Sava Conference Center in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Lucio Luzzatto, President of the International Liaison Committee for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea, made a report under the headline "On the Present Prospect of Korean Reunification and the South Korean Situation After the New Proposal was Put Forward by President Kim Il Sung".

Follows a gist of a report made by Lucio Luzzatto.

He pointed to the situation prevailing in the southern part of Korea after the proposal for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo was advanced by President Kim Il Sung at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea on October 10, 1980.

Noting that the national movement in south Korea became stronger demanding the democratisation of the society from January 1980, already jeopardized by the first putsch of Chon Du Hwan in December 1979, He said:

On May 17, 1980 another putsch by Chon Du Hwan took place and new "emergency martial law" was proclaimed in the entire south Korea.

After this followed the events at Kwangju and in many other places in the same and other regions. Terrible oppression which characterized the new dictatorship of Chon Du Hwan carried out in blood which can never be forgotten.

We are protesting against and abhoring all cases of this sort. We are demanding the annulment of all death sentences. We are demanding that the protests of the entire world are heard, and preventing of present dictatorship and its protectors from commitment of further crimes. The alteration of the death sentence to life imprisonment upon Kim Dae Jung is one of the first results of these world protests.

While the Government of the DPRK is proposing the achievement of peaceful reunification of the country through the establishment of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo, and while this proposal is met with wide international support, the war rattling and the renewed reinforcement of armed forces in south Korea represent an irresponsible and insane action directed against the increasing peaceful reuniting spirit and are also intended to deteriorate the situation.

Facts point out that the danger of aggression in Korea stems from south Korea, not from the north.

Our task is to put an end to the suppression of democracy in south Korea and the U.S. troops' occupation.

The reporter pointed out in detail that President Kim Il Sung in his historic report at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea opened up a bright prospect for achieving the reunification of the country through the founding of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

The proposal puts forward that Korea should be reunited thanks to the establishment of the Confederal Republic in which the north and the south will be granted equal rights and in which both parties will be invested with the same rights and duties for the respective implementation of regional autonomy, subject to the fact that each of them recognizes and tolerates the ideology and the system of the other party.

As Korea for more than thirty years has been divided, we have today in the north and the south of the country two different systems and two different ideologies.

Under such conditions, in order to achieve the reunification of Korea the way of joint life of the peoples from the north and the south should be obligatorily found, in order that they can live as a united nation, within the united state, under the condition that the differences in their systems and ideologies are recognized as stipulated by President Kim Il Sung.

The policy for the establishment of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo put forward by President Kim Il Sung indicates a correct way to actively contribute toward the total elimination of the tension and the danger of war presently existing on the Korean Peninsula, and the achievement of the lasting peace in Korea and safeguarding of the peace in Asia and in the world.

This is a just proposal ensuring the reunification and the prosperity of Korea; it is also a peaceful proposal which shall eliminate the sources of dangerous war in Asia and which shall actively contribute towards the peace in the world.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is actively endeavouring to realize, as soon as possible, this new proposal for the reunification of Korea.

The joint meeting of political parties and social organizations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, held last November in Pyongyang has taken the initiative to create the joint organ of the nation such as the preparatory committee for the establishment of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo, as a practical measure for the foundation of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

The meeting has proposed to hold a preliminary gathering of the representatives of political parties and the representatives of social organizations of the north and the south, including the representatives of the overseas democratic organizations.

This proposal shall be the first important step for the acceleration of the establishment of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

We wish to work in accordance with new facts. The 3rd World Conference for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea shall soon be held. Its task shall be to point out and to popularize in the world the new proposition for the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo, with all new aspects which it offers to lawyers, politicians, and with everything what it signifies for the rights of peoples and for the peace in the world; to throw light on the ten items of its political perspectives. (KCNA)

Resolution

A resolution was adopted at the meeting. Follows the full text of the resolution.

Considering that to ease tension on the Korean Peninsula and shorten the course to reunification is a question of key importance directly linked with the cause of world peace today, the Executive Committee resolves as follows in conformity with the desire of all peoples of the world to see a reunified Korea:

1) It considers that the proposition for founding the neutral Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo, the proposal to establish a united national government equally represented by the north and the south with the same authority and duties, which was put forward by President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, is a new just proposal which takes into consideration the specific conditions of Korea where there are different ideologies and systems in the north and the south.

2) Considering that this new proposition will help realize the reunification of Korea, the Executive Committee fully supports the ten-point policy of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo, a reunified state.

The Executive Committee will take an effective measure for aid to the founding of the DCRK.

3) The Executive Committee will rouse broad public opinion and organize activities for the abolition of all the anti-democratic "laws" in south Korea, particularly the "national security law," the "law on special measures for the renovation of political climate," the "plan for restructuring speech," the "amendment to the law on assembly and the demonstration," "law on political parties" and the "law on the election administration commission."

It will act for the abolition of the repressive instruments of power such as the "legislative council for national security," for the rehabilitation of the dissolved democratic political parties and organisations and for the guarantee of the freedom of political activities.

The Executive Committee demands that all the imprisoned democratic personalities and students be released and the penalties illegally inflicted upon them be cancelled.

4) The Executive Committee considers that a dialogue for reunification cannot be held with an illegal "regime" which seized power by physically eliminating the forces of opposition and is responsible for the massage that aroused the indignation of the whole world.

5) The Executive Committee will act for the removal of the danger of a war and tension on the Korean Peninsula, demanding an end to the preparations of aggression stepped up by the bellicose elements in south Korea under the pretext of "security" and "threat of southward invasion."

The Executive Committee will intensify its action to see that the United States withdraw totally and unconditionally its troops from south korea together with nuclear weapons in accordance with the U.N. resolution, leaving the Korean people to solve the question of national reunification by themselves independently and peacefully.

The Enlarged Meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Liaison Committee appeals to all countries, governments, political parties and social organisations of the world and international organisations and all peoples loving peace and justice:

To reinforce and expand the work of supporting through a series of initiatives the just proposition for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

Tō condemn the preparation of a new war and sanguinary repression by the Chon Du Hwan "regime".

To actively support the struggle of the south Korean people for the reunification of the country and democracy in society and claim the withdrawal of foreign troops from south Korea. (KCNA)

Action Program

In the meeting the action program for 1981 of the International Liaison Committee for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea was adopted. The action program defines the orientation of activity as follows:

1. The proposition for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo presented at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea by President Kim Il Sung is one very realistic, equitable and reasonable which takes into account the actual conditions of Korea and reflects the national aspiration of the Korean people and the wish of the world people.

It contains a new element, being of great importance for the action of the International Liaison Committee, all the national committees and organisations working for the cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The serious, realistic and just proposition will build up broad international public opinion to support it, instilling fresh force into the international action for solidarity with the Korean people in the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

2. With a view to realising the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, it is necessary to put an end to the military fascist rule and bring democracy to the south Korean society.

The events in 1979 and 1980 showed the accentuation of repression and systematic violation of human rights by the south Korean "regime."

This situation laid a higher hurdle in the way of reunification. Therefore, it is essential for the International Liaison Committee, the national committees and other forces supporting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea to conduct powerful activities in support of the south Korean democrats struggling at home and abroad against encroachment upon human rights and for democracy in the south Korean society.

3. For realising the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea it is necessary to ease tension in Korea, eliminate the danger of war more than ever before, and oppose the presence of the U.S. troops, which represents an essential element obstructive to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. This presence maintains a climate of tension posing permanent danger to peace in Asia and world. The U.S. troops are the fundamental support to the Chon Du Hwan dictatorial "regime" and support to the neo-colonial policy of the United States in south Korea.

The action for the withdrawal of the U.S. troops, therefore, poses as the predominant demand which requires the mobilisation of the International Liaison Committee, the national committees and all the forces which want a veritable work for the solutionof the Korean question.

The International Liaison Committee and the national committees as well as the international forces loving peace should bring pressure to bear upon the U.S. government to respond to a dialogue for replacing the Korean armistice agreement with a peace agreement. Confronting the courageous struggle of the Korean people to reunify their country, with the support of ever broader international public opinion, the imperialist forces are developing diverse manoeuvres designed to create "two Koreas" for the perpetuation of the division of Korea and maintenance of their domination over south Korea. In face of these manoeuvres, which continue, the International Liaison Committee, the national committees and the forces supporting the cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea should launch into a vast campaign for denouncing and defeating the imperialist forces.

This campaign will reaffirm that the solution of the Korean question is possible only by the action of the Koreans themselves for reuniting their country independently in a peaceful way.

In this sense the international public opinion supports the ten-point policy of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

The International Liaison Committee considers the above four points to be the essential orientation of its action program for 1981.

The action program also defines the tasks arising in connection with the Third World Conference for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea scheduled in Algiers and tasks for expanding and developing the international solidarity movement for energetically promoting the reunification of Korea and democratization of the south Korean society. (KCNA)

Profile of Chon Du Hwan

This biography of Chon Du Hwan was prepared by the Tokyo-based Kwangju Massacre Indictment Committee:

TRACE IT BACK – STEP by STEP

"Korea is a forward bulwark of defense for the United States and Japan. It is to tie down the Russian troops in the Far East and stay the hands of the Russians."

Chun Doo Hwan, 1981

"Kill 70 percent of the Kwangju population! Kill all youth!"

Chun Doo Hwan, 1980

"The American tanks drove over three million to death in Vietnam. Had the Americans killed ten million, they could have won the war. We must be ready to kill ten million in order to survive."

Chun Doo Hwan, 1979

"... We Korean troops are merciless to the Vietcong. We show no mercy for anyone who helps or hides the Vietcong. From now on, you will know how ruthless we Korean soldiers are."

Chun Doo Hwan, 1970

"The nation is now in a crisis. We should be brave and must do something for our country. Let's join the revolutionary army. Gen. Park is a man of honor. We should believe him."

Chun Doo Hwan, 1961

I. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. The Beginning

Chun Doo Hwan was born in Naechon-ri, Ryulgokmyun, Hyupchun county, South Kyongsang Province on January 23, 1931. Korea was then a colony of Imperial Japan. His father, a farmer, was a collaborator with the Japanese colonialists. He had two elder sisters, and two brothers, one older and one younger.

When he was a sixth grader, his family moved to 288, Pisan-tong, Taegu City, the capital of North Kyongsang Province, where he attended Kido Primary School. The school stressed the Hwangmin Chongsan (the spirit as Japan's Imperial subjects).

Gen. Chun recalled his boyhood in an interview carried by the Japanese monthly magazine Shokun (gentlemen), October, 1980:

"When I was a mere child, I was so impressed at the sight of Japanese officers rattling sabres that I often went to their training ground to see their parades . . . I wanted to become a pilot. Shortly before the liberation of Korea, the Japanese army recruited juvenile pilots (for kamikaze sorties against the Americans). I gave up the application, however. I was too young to be enlisted."

Taegu is the native town of the late dictator Park Chung Hee. Chun's mentor.

2. Growing Up

On March 25, 1945, five months before the defeat of Japan, Chun, then 14, finished primary school. The U.S. victory over Japan was an eye-opener to the young Chun. When he heard that the American troops had disarmed the Japanese Imperial Army and established a military government, he made up his mind to go to the United States for study. He switched his admiration to the United States.

When he was 19, the Korean War broke out. He was a student at the Taegu Technical High School. Many of his classmates joined the Syngman Rhee army as volunteers. On October 15, 1951, he graduated from high school and passed the entrance examination for the Korea Military Academy. In January, 1952, the KMA became a four-year school.

He was enrolled in the 11th class, virtually the first four-year class. His classmates, 30 years later, have formed an inner circle of the junta of Gen. Chun Doo Hwan.

While at the KMA, he made love to Lee Soon Ja, daughter of Gen. Lee Gyoo Dong, chief instructor at the academy. Winning her love and her father's blessing, cadet Chun graduated from the KMA on October 30, 1955.

He began his military career as a second lieutenant. On December 16, 1958, at the age of 27, he married Lee Soon Ja, then a medical student of Ewha Women's University. He was then a captain in the 72nd regiment, 25th Division of the Army.

3. Choosing a Career

Mar. 25, 1945:
Graduated from Kido Primary School in Taegu.
Oct. 15, 1951:
Graduated from Taegu Technical High School.
Oct. 30, 1955:
Graduated from the Korean Military Academy with the 11th class. In January 1952, the U.S.-created KMA became a four-year school.
Oct. 30, 1958:
Promoted to captain, 72nd Regiment, 25th Division.
Dec. 16, 1958:
Married Lee Soon Ja, daughter of Gen. Lee Gyoo Dong, and freshman of Ewha Women's University.
Jan. 3–Apr. 20, 1959:
Enrolled at the military English-language division of the Deputies School.
Jan. 12–Nov. 25, 1959:
Enrolled in the Army Special Warfare School, Fort Black, North Carolina.
Jul. 4–Dec. 12, 1960:
Enrolled in the unconventional warfare course, Army Infantry, Fort Benning, Georgia. Trained mostly as paratrooper. Made acquaintance of Gen. Wickham, presently commander of the U.S. forces in south Korea.
Apr. 10, 1961:
Named acting planning chief at the special warfare desk, Army Headquarters.
May 18, 1961:
Staged an 800-cadet parade at the City Hall plaza to demonstrate the Korea Military Academy's approval of the May 16, 1961 coup by Gen. Park Chung Hee.
Sep. 13, 1961–Aug. 9, 1962:
Worked with the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction as adviser to its Chairman on citizen petitions.
Jan. 7–Aug. 29, 1963:
Worked with the General Affairs Bureau of the Central Intelligence Agency as personnel section chief.
Sep. 15, 1963–Aug. 30, 1964:
Worked with the Personnel Administration Bureau at Army Headquarters.
Jun. 27, 1965:
Graduated from the Army War College.
Aug. 11, 1966–Aug. 10, 1967:
Served as Deputy Commander (major) of the 1st Airborne Special Warfare Unit.
Aug. 11, 1967–Nov. 30, 1969:
Served as Commander (Lt. Colonel) of the 30th Regiment of the Capital Garrison Command.
Dec. 1, 1969–Nov. 21, 1970:
Served as Chief of Aides to Gen. Suh Jong Chul, Army Chief of Staff.
Nov. 22, 1970–Nov. 14, 1971:
Served as Commander of the 29th Regiment, 9th Division, better known as the White Horse Division, the south Korean forces in South Vietnam. Established notoriety as ruthless guerrilla warfare veteran.
Nov. 15, 1971:
Named Brigade Commander (Colonel) of the First Airborne Special Warfare Unit.
Jan. 1, 1973:
Promoted to brigadier general.
Jun. 14, 1976:
Appointed Assistant Deputy Operational Director of Presidential Protective Force.
June. 14, 1977:
Promoted to rank of major general.
Jan. 23, 1978:
Promoted as Commander of the First Division. Discoverer of the alleged "Pyongyang-dug third tunnel."
Mar. 5, 1979:
Named Commander of the Army Security Command, rival to the Central Intelligence Agency. Assumed additional post of Chairman of the Joint Investigation Team on the Oct. 26 Presidential Assassination.
Dec. 12, 1979:
Carried out first phase for seizure of power, by arresting some 40 top-ranking generals, including martial-law commander Gen. Chung Soong Hwa, with the help of front-line units under the command of Gen. Wickham.
Mar. 1, 1980:
Promoted to lieutenant general.
Apr. 14–Jul. 18, 1980:
Served as Acting Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.
May 17, 1980:
Expanded martial-law to cover the whole of south Korea and rounded up Kim Dae Jung, Kim Jong Pil, and all other government and opposition leaders–second stage of his coup.
May 18–27, 1980:
Slaughtered over 2,000 citizens and wounded over 15,000 in the city of Kwangju and became south Korean history's first to fire on fellow countrymen.
May 31, 1980:
Became Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Special Measures Committee for National Security.
Aug. 5, 1980:
Promoted to full general.
Aug. 16, 1980:
Forced President Choi Gyu Ha to resign.
Aug. 27, 1980:
Elected by the rubber-stamp electoral college as successor to Choi.
Sep. 1, 1980:
Inaugurated as 11th President.
Nov. 22, 1980:
Railroaded his brand of the Yushin Constitution through a plebiscite.
Sep. 17, 1980:
Seoul's court-martial passed a death penalty on Kim Dae Jung on sedition charges.
Jan. 23, 1981:
The Supreme Court upheld the death sentence on Kim Dae Jung.
Feb. 1, 1981:
The 170,000-man U.S.-south Korea joint war game, the largest in scale since the truce, began with 700 aircraft.
Feb. 2, 1981:
Became the first visitor to President Reagan in the White House and got his legitimizing blessing.
Feb. 25, 1981:
Won the indirect presidential election by running virtually unopposed.
Mar. 3, 1981:
Sworn in as a new seven-year term President.

4. What Kind of Man Is He?

Chun is widely known for his ruthlessness. He has also been called stubborn and violent.

In 1970–71, he established a reputation by his and his forces' cruelty in slaughtering great numbers of the Vietnamese people. His viciousness again was demonstrated in the military trial of Kim Dae Jung, and, in particular, in the May Massacre in Kwangju, where more than 2,000 students and citizens were indiscriminately massacred and over 15,000 seriously wounded.

In Kwangju, he ordered martial-law troops spearheaded by his airborne paratroopers called the Black Berets, if necessary, to eliminate over 70 percent of the citizens. Even infants and pregnant women were bayoneted and burned by flame-throwers. Some had their breasts and bellies slashed.

The Korea Herald, an English-language daily published by the south Korean Government, noted in its Feb. 2, 1981 edition, that he was a tireless challenger to the strongest boy wrestlers. At the same time, his career indicates strong toadyism toward his superiors, contributing much to his rapid rise amid the politically-oriented generals.

His opportunistic attitude is clear.

- Married the daughter of a chief instructor at the KMA.
- Organized demonstration of cadets in support of Gen. Park's May 16, 1961 coup. Park promoted Capt. Chun to major, and recommended him for education at the Army War College.
- Cultivated Gen. Yoon Pil Ryung, Commander of the Capital Garrison with gifts from his Vietnam expedition.
- Betrayed Gen. Yoon to Lee Hu Rak, then Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, when Lee's victory looked certain.
- Betrayed Lee Hu Rak by informing on the poor performance of the police and the CIA; was installed as commander of the Army Security Command.
- Appointed himself as chief investigator into the assassination of President Park, clearing the United States of its role in the death of the dictator, and paving the way for his eventual seizure of power.
- By mutinous purge got rid of most of his superiors, including martial-law commander Gen. Chung, and made himself leading army strongman.
- Became first visitor to President Reagan, who pledged renewed support for Chun's dictatorial junta.

5. Three Major Influences

The first major influence on Chun was the presence in his native town of a Japanese garrison, when he was a child. He dreamed of becoming a military officer. He tried to become a member of the Kamikaze special attack unit while still a boy.

The second was the American defeat of the Japanese forces, which converted Chun to become a worshipper of the United States. The ensuing American military presence in south Korea confirmed his attitude. In order to win American recognition, he decided to become a veteran of guerrilla warfare and intelligence-gathering.

In the October, 1980 issue of Shokun, he claimed that Korea must learn from the high living standards of the United States and its law-abiding spirit. He said: "American aid was the lifeline of Korea." "Communization of Korea would inevitably result in the loss of Japan." "The United States must remain the leader of the world."

"While I was at the Korea Military Academy at Chinhae, West-point-trained American officers gave us Westpoint-style training and education . . . . The KMA was a rare institution to conduct American-style democracy in a formal way."

Gen. Chun said in Washington on Feb. 2, 1981 (The Korea Herald, Feb. 3, 1981): "U.S. assistance has not been in vain . . . your philosophy applies not only to the United States but to all Free World nations . . . . Now we in the Republic of Korea, too, shall 'match loyalty with loyalty.'"

The third major influence was dictator Park Chung Hee. Park also came from Taegu, and trained first as a Japanese army officer in charge of mopping up Communist guerrillas in Manchuria. He was retrained by the Americans as an intelligence officer and was virtual godfather to Chun. For him, Park was "a great politician and leader."

The Asian Wall Street Journal, Sep. 3, 1980, said that Gen. Chun was using the notebooks of the late Gen. Park.

Time, on May 26, 1980, quoted Gen. Chun as saying: "He (Park) was a rare leader, a leader almost without parallel in our history. He opened up an era of unprecedented prosperity for us. He dedicated himself to Korea's survival and to the task of building a self-reliant nation."

Both Park and Chun repeatedly asserted that they had no political ambitions. But both captured the post of president by force.

II. CLOCKWORK MOVES TO BECOME SECOND PARK CHUNG HEE

1. First Step–Military Service

As south Korea possesses the fourth largest military forces in the world, after the U.S., USSR, and China, any candidate for a top

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spot must take the road of military service. Unlike the U.S., Japan, the UK, West Germany or France, south Korea is without a developed economy. The military is its biggest and best-organized institution, with tremendous influence in all state affairs.

The armed forces of south Korea are under the command of a U.S. general, the commanding officer of the U.S. forces in Korea, and of the U.N. Command. The same general is commander of the U.S.-south Korea Combined Forces Command. The armed forces use English as the official language, receive American-style training and are equipped with American-made weapons. Any would-be south Korean ruler must be legitimized by the United States.

Given strict military discipline and the competition for higher posts, the protection of the superior is essential for promotion.

Being well aware of conditions, the prospect of Chun becoming a businessman or a bureaucrat offered no attraction. Only a military career became important.

Before liberation in 1945, he experienced rule over Korea by Japanese officers. From 1945 to 1952, the year when the Korea Military Academy was reactivated as the first four-year school, the U.S. forces and south Korean troops wielded absolute power, and the role of the military was dramatized by the three years of the Korean War.

The nature of the south Korean military as mercenary forces of America determined the predominance of the ground forces over the air force and the navy, and the importance of an intelligence machine to keep watch over the rank and file against any sign of possible disloyalty to the U.S.A.

At the age of 21, Chun entered the KMA where he sought the acquaintance of Gen. Lee, the drill-master. He hoped on graduation to become an intelligence officer and a veteran of unconventional warefare.

On the recommendation of the KMA and army headquarters, Capt. Chun got the opportunity to take intensive English-language training to study at American military schools. His records at both Fort Benning and Fort Black deeply impressed the American instructors.

When Gen. Park took power in the May, 1961 coup, Chun was a special-warfare paratroop captain. Sensing U.S. power behind the coup, and while other generals were vacillating, Capt. Chun jumped the opportunity to distinguish himself. He personally visited Gen. Park and offered to organize a cadet demonstration, a plan that worked well. (The Korea Herald, Feb. 2, 1981).

The Vietnam war came as another prize opportunity for Chun. He distinguished himself in mopping up operations as commander of the 72nd regiment of the White Horse Division. His reputation spread throughout the south Korean troops in south Vietnam, and even to the American generals. Brigadier General Wickham, economic adviser to the U.S. army command there, and who had met him in Fort Black in 1960, renewed his friendship with Chun.

Then, in 1967, having won favor with Lee Hu Rak, then chief of the presidential secretariat, Chun became commander of the 30th regiment of the Capital Garrison. Two years later he was recommended for the job of chief aide to Gen. Suh, army chief of staff.

In 1974, Chun was picked as his deputy by Cha Chi Chul, chief bodyguard for the president, and in 1977, he was the first among the graduates of his KMA 11th class to be promoted to major general. In the next year, he rose to the post of army security commander on the strong recommendation of Cha Chi Chul. When Gen. Park Chung Hee was assassinated, he was in a position to seize the reins of state, and was immediately named chief investigator of the incident.

In short, by the time of the death of Park, his mentor, Gen. Chun was at the center of power with firm control over the intelligence machinery. It worked like clockwork, his well-calculated long-range plan to seize power.

2. A Phased Coup

Gen. Chun, leader of the young officers, who received full four years of military training, emerged the most favored replacement for the dictator Park. The will of the USA was felt in the arrival of Gen. Wickham to succeed Gen. Vessey as U.S. commander, and the nomination of Gleysteen as the new ambassador to Seoul.

The two Americans held a series of closed-door meetings with Gen. Chun himself prior to the death of Park. The first meeting took place in mid-July, 1980. Chun was emboldened to be ready for the eventual takeover. They needed no interpreter. Chun, informed of meetings of Gen. Chung Soong Hwa, army chief of staff with the two Americans, remained confident of American trust in him. On October 28, 1979, two days after the presidential assassination, Gen. Chun was assured of American support.

It should be recalled that the open support expressed for Gen. Chun by Gen. Wickham, which the State Department alleged did not reflect the official American stand, failed to develop into a second Singlaub case.

The first job of Gen. Chun as chairman of the joint investigation team under the martial-law command was to declare the United States free from any charge of involvement in the death of strongman Park, and to produce pretexts for elimination of foes to his bid to seize power.

His long-premeditated power grab operation began its first phase. By clearing Washington of any charge and convicting CIA director Kim Jae Gyu, Gen. Chun prepared to round up the martial-law commander and other top brasshats. The charges against them were corruption and involvement in the death of strongman Park.

Whatever American officials said, Gen. Wickham made no objections to a number of front-line south Korean troops being diverted from the 38th Parallel to bolster the takeover. Three divisions were mobilized for arrests in the Dec. 12, 1979 army purge.

By establishing total control over the military establishment, Gen. Chun pushed ahead with the second stage—elimination of democratic opposition leaders as well as associates of the former dictator. His tactic was to prevent unrest, and to distance himself from the Yushin regime, the source of popular grievances.

The key targets were the three Kims, strong potential candidates for the presidency—Kim Dae Jung, Kim Yong Sam and Kim Jong Pil. In the words of Gleysteen, Kim Dae Jung was "radical," Kim Yong Sam "less capable" and Kim Jong Pil "tainted."

The second-stage operation was carried out on May 17, with a nationwide extension of martial-law and mass arrests of the democratic dissident leaders, including the three Kims, and former Yushin leaders.

The third pütsch involved the railroading through of a second Yushin Constitution, and the replacement of President Choi Kyu Ha by Gen. Chun. All this was entirely illegal. The Constitution stipulates that when the president is incapacitated, the premier must take over. Park Choong Hun and Nam Duk Woo, both acting premiers, had not been approved by the National Assembly, which had been dissolved under martial-law. Consequently, Gen. Chun had no qualification to succeed Choi.

Chun's victory in the Feb. 25, 1981 presidential election was virtually unopposed.

Chun's seizure of power is complete as of March 3, 1981 with his inauguration as the new seven-year term President, under the second Yushin Constitution. He had already won American legitimization by his visit to the new U.S. President, Ronald Reagan, in Washington. This phase is the fourth.

"Team Spirit '81": Attack Scenario

This article focusses on the military nature of the ongoing American-south Korean joint war exercise, dubbed "Team Spirit '81," the sixth in the series. Its timing and political purpose have been discussed in detail in previous issues (Jan. 31 and Feb. 14).

The scale of, the performance of weapons involved, and the nature of exercises phased in, "Team Spirit '81" make plain the war game's attack scenario aimed at the DPRK, the Soviet Union and the south Korean population.

It has a strong likelihood of provoking a new round of the arms race in that part of Asia, imperiling peace and security. The war exercise is indicative of the warlike character of the Reagan-Chon team.

Largest in Scale outside NATO

The scale of the war game indicates that it is far beyond defensive needs. The current war game involves a total of 161,500 combat soldiers, 46 naval ships and over 700 combat aircraft. The U.S. soldiers, number 61,500. Airlift carries 8,500 tons and sealift involves 35,000 tons of supplies.

It is larger in the numbers of troops involved than the previous war games ever staged in and near south Korea since the July 1953 signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement. The biggest series is called "Team Spirit," begun in 1976, though the first one was not officially called so.

–The 1976 and 77 joint war exercises were veiled in secrecy. No details were available.

–The 1978 "Team Spirit" games involved more than 110,000 men, including some 40,000 GI's.

–"Team Spirit '79" was attended by over 140,000 troops, among them over 40,000 American soldiers.

–"Team Spirit '80" was staged by a total of 150,000 troops, inclusive of over 50,000 Americans.

The bi-national war game is the biggest in scale of those outside the NATO Alliance pitted against the Warsaw Pact nations. No joint command exists between Pyongyang, Moscow and Pyongyang with no foreign troops or base on the territory of the DPRK. No joint maneuver has been conducted by them. No nuclear weapons are stored in the DPRK. The whole of the south Korean troops are virtually under the control of the U.S. forces. The U.S. maintains military presence in south Korea and reinforces it with nuclear warheads.

SR71s continue flights over the DPRK, while E3As maintain close watch. Yet no spy plane or satellite was launched by the DPRK to gather military intelligence about south Korea.

An amphibious assault operation, started on Feb. 26, as part of the ongoing war game, involving 22,000 American Marines based on Okinawa and Japan and 11,000 south Korean Marines, was "larger in scale than the Inchon landing operation" of Sep. 17, 1950, according to Capt. Hyde, spokesman of the American Marine Command on Okinawa.

Unique about the landing operation is the presence for the first time of British-built Harriers and the 2 : 1 ratio of American and south Korean soldiers, suggesting that the war game is clearly an American exercise, intended to test a preemptive powerful thrust into the DPRK. In view of the terrain of Pohang, the scene of the landing drill, possible targets are Wonsan, Hamhung, Tanchun, Chungjin or Rajin, major East Sea ports of the DPRK. Siberian ports may be included among the targets.

700 Warplanes: Twice Those of Japan

The more than 700 warplanes involved in the war game are composed of 500-600 American aircraft, one-seventh or one-sixth of the total air strength of the United States worldwide. The number of combat planes mobilized in the war exercise is twice that of Japan (358) and favorably with the United Kingdom (511), West Germany (484), France (471) and Italy (319). The figure is almost thrice that of south Korea (276).

The staggering 700 warplanes are mostly capable of carrying nuclear warheads to any point in the DPRK, or those in the Asian region of the Soviet Union. They are far from purely defensive.

The distances between key locations in Northeast Asia are as follows:

–Seoul-Pyongyang: 200 km
–Seoul-DMZ: 48 km
–Seoul-Soviet border: 640 km
–Seoul-Chinese border: 480 km
–Seoul-San Francisco: 10,000 km

FB111s, F-15s, F-4Es and possibly B-52s(?) are being sent to south Korea to participate in the war game:

FB111s, candidate for replacement of the B-52 fleet, F-15s and F-4Es are reputed for their high performance—their payload are several times those of the fighter-bombers at the disposal of Pyongyang.

Any defensive interceptor has little need to have nuclear capability or bombing capability or is enough to cover territorial space. Yet American and south Korean combat planes have extremely long range:

–FB111: 6,000 km
–F-15: 3,000 km
–F-4E: 2,500 km

These fighter-bombers of the most advanced generation can conduct repeated attack missions against any target in the DPRK and the Asian region without refueling. They fly at speeds of over Mach 2.2.

During the war game, these planes test scrambling from expressways or other makeshift airstrips or landing on them. Several crisscross express ways have been built in south Korea. They also carry out close-air support missions.

Naval Bombardment, Mine-Sweeping & Laying, Anti-Submarine Operations

No details are yet known of the scale of naval operations except the announcement that they are mainly naval bombardment, mine-sweeping and laying, and anti-submarine operations, involving 46 naval ships.

In military terminology, these operations are offensive in nature. Normally, naval bombardment is aimed at destroying enemy military facilities ashore: naval base or factory or communications facility or airfields or oil tanks. Sometimes, naval firing is anti-ship.

In the last Korean War, most of DPRK coastal cities and rural communities were left in ruins as a result of massive bombardments by American naval vessels. The bombardment precedes any amphibious assault landing. In the last war no ship-launched missile was used against ground targets.

Now, however, American and south Korean men of war are equipped with ground-to-ground or ship-to-ship missiles. Therefore, the present war game may be involving an extensive use of naval artillery pieces and missiles.

Mine sweeping indicates an attempt to penetrate the enemy defense line for attack purposes while sowing mines is intended to establish a naval blockade of enemy ports and stop marine transport.

During the last Vietnam War, the Americans used aircraft and naval ships to sow numerous mines around the port of Haiphong and other major harbors and blocked them. DPRK ports were also sealed by American mines during the Korean War.

Sea lanes are important for the DPRK for contact with the outside world. Korea is surrounded by sea on three sides with shared borders with the Soviet Union and China.

Mine laying will create a serious disruption within its transportation on the East Sea, affecting the DPRK and the Soviet Union.

Anti-submarine operations, carried out by both aircraft and men of war, are viewed by the Americans and the south Koreans as essential for a successful sea supremacy.

Airdropping, River-Crossing And Others

The American Command refuses to reveal any aspect or numbers of troops and warplanes involved in parachuting. Airdropping strongly implies that the enemy rear—communications centers, factories and logistics bases—is a prime target of sabotage. Under the present conditions, the Americans intend to airdrop not only infantrymen but also heavy tanks and large-calibre guns.

Airdropping is a key feature of sophisticated American conventional warfare and sometimes unconventional warfare partly aimed at domestic opponents.

The Americans use C130s and C141s plus huge helicopters for airlift operations. These aircrafts can deliver heavy combat gear and soldiers deep in the DPRK or set up positions. They receive close-air support from fighter-bombers, and Cobra helicopter gunships as in Vietnam.

River-crossing operations are one of highlights of the present "Team Spirit '81." However, no details are given.

The northern of Korea is a highly mountainous area with countless fast-running streams. A wide river the River Imjin flows along the 38th Parallel.

Any successful preemptive attack requires well-planned river-crossing operations. In order to move into the DPRK, the Americans and the south Koreans must cross the River Imjin and to occupy Pyongyang, many rivers must be overcome.

3. Power Base

The availability of what was almost a consanguine group of generals was a major factor in Gen.

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"A-Bomb Victims in White Chogori" (4)

Racial Discrimination Even In Hell

O Bong Su, 67 years old, male; a resident of Sato-cho, Hiroshima City; born at Wolgwang-ri, Chiro-myon, Hyopchon county, S. Kyongsang Prov.; bombed at Hirose Kita-machi, Hiroshima City; dairyman.

Deprived of Lands

(Continued from the previous issue)

There were some famous temples such as the Haein Temple in my village. Kept there as its treasures were a large number of printing blocks on which Buddhist Scriptures were engraved by noted monks in the past. In every April village people prayed for their health in front of these blocks. When I was 12 years old, these blocks were carried away on the backs of horses. When I asked "Where were they carried?" The answer was "They were taken to the government-general for study." However, our treasures never returned. I heard they had been sent away to Japan.

At school, we were scolded when we spoke Korean. I was ordered to stand in the corner for 30 minutes when a Korean word slipped from my lips. We had to pay tuition fees, high fees for the poor. Hardly any children went to school as they were unable to pay tuition fees. The schools Japanese children attended didn't require tuition fees. I didn't understand why, because the Japanese were rich and the Koreans were poor.

We did not eat well. Ninety percent of the Koreans in the village were unable to read Korean. When we bought land we didn't register our land tracts. Taking advantage of this situation, the governor-general deprived Koreans of their land on the plea that they were not properly registered. I was also deprived of my land my father had bought. We Koreans worked as tenant farmers on the lands which had been deprived of us. We had to pay high land rents. Further, taxes were high. We could hardly eat rice.

Korean rice was popular among the Japanese because of its good quality. But there was no Korean rice left for the Koreans to eat.

The period from February to April was a hard time for us. During this period we sowed wheat and waited until the harvesting time. During this period we ate gruel mixed with soybean leaves and kaoliang.

When we got into debt in the spring we had to pay high interest. If we didn't pay we had to part with our land.

I went to Japan from Pusan. I felt miserable at Pusan. It was a cold day. We Koreans had to wait for a long time in a queue. When we shivered with cold in a queue, Japanese broke into the queue and got on the ship one after another.

Dangerous Work

(In December 1933 he arrived at Kokura, Kyushu Island. He, 21 years old, wandered from place to place.)

I began to work on a construction site. The work was reclamation work, which was done by moving earth from a mountain. I pushed a truck load of earth 60 times a day. I was exhausted. A daily wage was 70 *sen*. From which 35 *sen* was taken away for meals, 2-3 *sen* for a bath fee. When I drank, nothing remained. In a rainy day we had no job. If we didn't work hard, we were unable to support our family. I did various kinds of jobs. They were all dangerous and hard ones. My shoulders became swollen and I was unable to raise even my arms. I got nothing for all the hard work.

Two months later I went to Hiroshima. In order to look for my elder sister I had to walk about for two days, until I found my elder sister living at Kawabe in the upper reaches of the Ota River.

My elder sister and I worked on a construction site for the Kawabe Line. We carried a basketful of stones weighing 30-40 kg for the stone walls of a tunnel. We continued this work for one year and a half. Wherever we went, we Koreans had to work on dangerous work sites. Our wages were lower than those of Japanese doing the same work.

Five years after my arrival in Japan, I returned to my homeland, but I didn't find any job there nor did I win any land. I decided to return to Japan and to live in Kawanai Village, Hiroshima, Japan.

In those days there were many Koreans there. About 40 families lived in Kawanai Village. There were many jobs in munitions factories. I went to the naval arsenal in Kure and worked there. When the armymen came to our ship for a survey, the captain told us to stay in the bottom of the ship in order not to make Korean workers know the secrets of the naval arsenal.

Toward the end of July, an order came to Kawanai Village to do labor services.

(He was atom-bombed in a place where buildings were being broken in Hirose Kita-machi, 1.2 km from the hypocenter. The joints of his hands are still disfigured and his nails are bent.)

I was unlucky. That day I went to Hirose where buildings were being demolished. I wanted to get pieces of wood. The moment I stooped down to bundle piece of wood, I was bombed from behind.

I was knocked down. I saw nothing for a while. I heard nothing. After a while, I was able to see around me dimly. I thought that was my end. There was nothing around me. I heard people crying "Help, help." Foul smell filled the air. As I breathed that toxic gas, I thought I could not live long. That foul-smelling thing must have been toxic gas.

I found people who had been waiting for a street car, killed at a stop. A horse drawing a cart as well as a man leading the horse were charred. I fled from there, walking on the destroyed houses. I made desperate effort to flee. I escaped to a place where there was no fire. When I reached the Kohei bridge, oil storage tanks were on fire. I swam across the Ota River. Many people jumped into the river, crying "Hot, too hot." Their faces were blackened and their unfocussed eyes seemed to see nothing. They were almost naked and their skin was peeling off. They cried, "Help, help."

We saw many corpses flowing on the river. Before I was aware, my shirt had been burnt and the skin of my back had been peeled off. It felt unbearably hot and painful. I fled to the Fudoin Temple in the upper reaches of the Ota River. I asked an old woman to give me water. When I drank water, a young man scolded the old woman. He cried loudly, "If burnt people drink water, they will die." I thought I would die. The old woman told me to go to the Tosaka elementary school where, she said, soldiers and nurses were giving medicine. Then I went there 3 km from the temple. When I arrived there were 4-5 people who had fled there. In about 20 minutes tens of, and hundreds of bombed people filled the playground of the elementary school. They were groaning. As the sun light was dazzling, the wounds hurt us badly. As I was unable to endure pain, I shouted "Help me quick." A soldier, glaring at me, barked, "Don't scream, you Korean." I felt dizzy and felt as if I were falling into a bottomless pit. I never forget the words of that soldier even today.

(After having been given treatment, he returned to Kawanai Village, determining to die after meeting his wife and children. At home his wife Li Wol Son and five children were waiting for him. His wife said as follows:)

I didn't know what to do and I went out to look for him, taking my children. I didn't go beyond Yokokawa. We saw people burnt to death and there was bad smell all around.

About 11:00 a.m. when I was sitting on a river bank, I saw my husband coming in ragged clothes. He just cried, "Help me, help me." I was unable to recognize him at a glance. I took him to a hospital on a cart. But there was no medicine. Injured people were not treated well there and many died. Then I took him home again. The skin of his back had been peeled off. His hair fell off in two weeks. Other people said he must die soon. His nails fell off, too. He shivered saying, "It's cold, it's cold" though it was very hot. At first I thought he could not live long. His back was covered with pus and perspiration, which attracted swarms of flies. I cared for him in a mosquito net. My daughter and I nursed him in turn. He asked us several times to strangle him with a belt. He wasn't able to kill himself as his hands were injured. We didn't have any medicine and we used various things instead of medicine. Potato juice was good for him.

Food Shortage Killed Two Children

(The delayed effect of radiation continued until the next year. His family suffered from dire poverty. He said if he could write well, he wouldn't be able to describe all his experience in a book.)

I had no money. We had to lead a difficult life. Many Koreans in my village returned to our fatherland. My cousin also returned to the fatherland, though she was unable to find out her husband's body.

I was not in good health. My wife worked hard. We ate gruel of rationed barley and soybean mixed with mugwort. When rice was rationed, I ate gruel. At a meal time children watched me. My wife told them to get a spoonful of gruel from me. Then they came to me and ate a spoonful of gruel with gusto. We eagerly wanted to get rice. There was not enough food. I lost two children as I was unable to feed them. I feel a lump in my throat whenever I think of this. It was the beginning of October. Children brought many gingko nuts. I broiled them and gave them to the children. They ate the nuts saying, "These taste good, these taste good." Soon, they complained of sharp pain in the stomach. The third daughter died in the evening and the eldest son the next morning. I piled up firewood and straw and burnt them. If they come alive now, I would let them eat rice heartily.

Koreans are not insured. When we Koreans fall ill, we must pay doctor's fees from our own pockets. I want an atomic-bomb victim's certificate.

My children attended a Korean school in Furuichi, Hiroshima. There were five teachers and 150 pupils. There was no playground and the school buildings were dilapidated.

My children attended the school far from their home on rainy days and windy days by bus. One day, the propriator of a tobacco shop in front of a bus stop told me to make my children attend a Japanese school near my house. I talked with him until 2:00 a.m. If they attended a Japanese school, they would become persons obedient to the Japanese as Koreans were before when Korea was colonized, I said to him.

My idea was right. My children were brought up as Koreans who would never allow colonial rule of Korea again and would never allow Koreans to be atom-bombed again.

("A-Bomb Victims in White Chogori" was published in 1979 based on testimonies told by Korean atomic-bomb victims, collected by the Association of the Korean Atomic-Bomb Victims of Hiroshima Prefecture.)

Korean Paintings

"White Deer"

(Anonymous)

NEWS DISPATCH FROM PYONGYANG

Feb. 18

* Gambian President Dawda Kairaba Jawara met Ryu Man Bok, ambassador of the DPRK to Gambia. The Gambian president declared that Gambia would make efforts to develop her friendly relations with the DPRK in the future, too.

* A protocol on commodity exchange between the governments of the DPRK and the People's Republic of China for 1981 was signed in Beijing.

Feb. 20

* Mozambican President Samora Moises Machel met Kang Su Myong, ambassador of the DPRK to Mozambique. Noting that it is a duty of Mozambique to support the reunification cause of Korea, the Mozambican president declared that Mozambique will invariably support the reunification of Korea.

Feb. 21

* A delegation of the Foreign Ministry of the DPRK headed by Kim Jae Bong, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, left Pyongyang by plane for a visit to various countries of the Middle East.

* Hwang Jang Yop, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly met and had a friendly talk with the delegation of the Society of Independence of Japan headed by its Permanent Secretary Osaka Yoshiharu.

* A delegation of the WPK left Pyongyang by special plane to attend the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

* The delegation of the WPK headed by Li Jong Ok, Member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau of the CC of the WPK and Premier of the Administration Council, arrived in Moscow by special plane to attend the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Feb. 24

* Tak Gwan Chol, ambassador of the DPRK to Bangladesh paid a farewell call on Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman. Stressing that thanks to the wise leadership of President Kim Il Sung Korea has developed into a strong country as she is today, the Bangladesh president expressed the belief that the friendly and cooperative relations between Bangladesh and Korea would grow stronger and develop. (KCNA)

Korean Cultural History (42)

Paintings (17th-Mid-19th Centuries)

(Continued from the No. 1031 issue of The People's Korea)

Kim Hong Do was a noted figure and genre painter in the second half of the 18th century, who sympathized and lived with toiling people and reflected them in his works. With insight into the true aspects of life skilfully he drew the life of the people realistically and vividly with a strong use of the brush.

In his paintings the characters and psychology of figures are realistically and deeply depicted; the compositions tell stories; and their portrayal is accurate. He painted the feelings and life of common people, deeply interested in them and observing them closely.

The following pictures show well the life of various types of working people in the 18th century: Smithy, House-Building, Wrestling, Court Dance, Private School, Washing, Weeding, Weaving, Picking Medicinal Herbs, etc. Smithy, and House-Building are his representative genre pictures.

In Smithy, the forge is in the center of the picture. Around it stand three smiths, one holding a red-hat piece of iron with tweezers, the two others hammering on it. A little away from them in the background, a man is seen working on the bellows. In front, a lad is sharpening a big sickle on a whetstone. Thus, the picture portrays five persons working together. The main character is the man holding the tweezers. His facial expressions are delicate. The lips seem to be twitched to the right. The two hammering smiths are splendidly depicted. Their postures are well balanced with the weight of the hammers. Mostly in lines, he vividly depicted the different individual characters, their expressions and movements.

In Wrestling, Private School and House-Building he handled the composition with consummate skill.

"Smithy" by Kim Hong Do (1706–?)

In Wrestling, a circular composition, two stalwart men tackle each other. One man wears gaiters on his legs, while the other had none it. The former wears a pair of leather shoes and the latter a pair of straw-sandals. The man with the gaiters on is the point of falling, his face heavily distorted in a desperate effort to bring his feet back to the ground. The other, holding up his rival in the air, shows strong fight, with his lower jaw drawn tight with strength. Various kinds of people around the wrestling ring show different expressions on their faces. A taffy-selling boy standing a little way off is quite unconcerned about the wrestling match. He is concerned only about the sale of his stuff.

In this way Kim Hong Do was good at grasping the character and mental state of each individuality engaged in a different trade.

In House-Building carpenters and earth-workers in different attires are seen working hard on the building site. Their expressions and movements are all vivid. There stands one person idly with a long tobacco pipe in his mouth. He appears to be the owner of the house. Through this person, the painter shows a typical parasite on society.

New phases explored by him in genre painting enabled him to bring the spirit and life of the labouring people into a clear relief with concise and simple lines. His figures paintings are characterized by simplicity. Most of their characters are people tempered in labour of those who have grown old cultivating land. Each canvas gives a strong impression of plainness and frankness in style. As each character is depicted with full aim and purpose, the spectator can see him attending to his proper job without the aid of any background to him. The background was deliberately omitted to increase the thematic meaning.

Kim Hong Do also drew fine landscape and animal paintings. A Fighting Dog is representative of his animal pictures. While retaining the convention of Korean painting, this work boldly introduced a new Western technique to pave the way for the development of realism. A fierce-looking dog is lying on the ground, watching ahead, with the muzzle on his forelegs. He is awe-inspiring and full of animal spirits. Once he rises to his feet and goes to action, he would present a formidable scene. This intuition comes from the high artistry of the work. Sketched from life, this picture represents the fine skill of rough drawing based on rich anatomical knowledge. The unique method was used to make the object appear three-dimensional with the effects of light and shade.

The Kuryong Falls is his representative landscape painting. In drawing the Kuryong Falls which is delicate to express, he dealt with part of it on his narrow canvas. Here he employed free, rough brush-strokes to present the vivid image of the big falls cascading down with vigorous force.

Kim Hong Do was a popular, progressive painter who further developed the realistic arts of Korea in the middle age and drew into life the fine arts which had long been enmeshed in the web of the formal ethical ideas.

There is the unidentified Dragon-Angler considered to be drawn in the 17th century. This picture presents the scene of a brave manfolk angling a hug wriggling dragon with a long rod at the pond on a windy day. The high-spirited angler is pulling the rod with all his might in a standing posture, with his eyes turned up, his long whiskers and clothes fluttering in the wind, while the hooked dragon is resisting with the same vigour to avert the mortal danger.

This picture suggests the struggle between justice and injustice and, at the same time, shows the great spirit of human beings. To express man's strong fortitude and indomitable fighting spirit, an awe-inspiring atmosphere on the canvas was skilfully delineated on the canvas with his vigorous brush-strokes.

The Korean artists of the Li dynasty preserved the unique tradition of Korean painting, forceful and clear-cut, elegant and simple, boldly rejecting the conservative, degenerated black-and-white drawings and Four-Precious-Plants pictures in the taste of idling aristocratic men of letters.

The following other painters are famous: Ha Sang Byok (18th century), Yun Dok Hui (1685-?), Li Yong Yun (1561-1611), Kim Sik (17th century)–animal paintings; Kim Chin Nyo (17th century), Han Si Gak (1621-?)–portraits; Cho Tong (1595-1668), Hong Su Chu (1645-1705), Chong Yu Sung (17th century), O Mu Ryong (1566-?), Ryu Dok Chang (1694-?), Li Kye U (1547-?)–paintings flowers and birds and Four Precious-Plants. (To be continued)

"Kim Dae Jung As I Know Him"

By Moon Tong Hwan

(Continued from the previous issue)

Another thing that always amazed me whenever I visited him was the endless energy with which he met his daily challenges. Nothing seemed to discourage him, and no amount of work seemed to tire him. Once he told me and some friends about how he spent a day. He said he usually gets up around six o'clock in the morning and spends time in reading and meditation until breakfast time. After that, he has no more time for himself until 10 p.m. There is an endless line of visitors, and none of them are ever sent away without seeing him. All day long he shakes hands, exchanges greetings, answers questions, and discusses issues. All the while he is lively and energetic. The time from 10 p.m. to midnight is usually spent with his family, reviewing the day's affairs or sharing thoughts or information. He literally lives in politics 24 hours a day. Sometimes his political rivals describe him as an uninteresting politician because he always talks about subjects related to politics. He usually talks about politics even at social gatherings where other politicians are enjoying themselves, with talk about wine and women. Because of such dedication to politics, fortified with a good brain and energy, he has often been able to turn unexpected events to his favor, and this is the primary reason why he is often accused by his enemies as being too crafty.

One may wonder where this boundless energy comes from? I think the answer is in his single-minded dedication to his vocation and also in his sense of confidence. He does not seem to have an inner conflict that usually eats up one's energy.

Some may say that all the politicians are like that, and that his energy comes from his desire for power. That is precisely the way the recent indictment tried to explain his abundant political work. It is true that he wants the office of presidency, if possible. But, the central question is what kind of political dreams he entertains and whether or not he has the ability to achieve those dreams and how he proposes to achieve them.

What is his diagnosis of the political situation in Korea? What does he propose for the solution of the problems? And what kind of process does he advocate?

* * * * *

He sees the root of the whole trouble in the division-dictatorship syndrome.

This view may be summed up as follows:

The unfortunate division of the country fosters militarism and consequent dictatorial rule. Kim Dae Jung thinks that most of the political and economic problems stem from the division which has created two hostile regimes on a small peninsula. Therefore, he maintains that all efforts, both political and cultural, should be mobilized toward the solution of the tragic division of the country.

In order to achieve that goal, he believes that South Korea must be consolidated under a participatory system of government in which freedom and justice are assured for all. He believes that true solidarity can be achieved only through participatory justice. And he firmly believes that the Korean people are ready for this. Once national unity is achieved through a participatory system of government, the people will become confident enough to be truely open and invite a dialogue with the north for mutual benefit. Therefore, for Kim, Dae Jung the unification of Korea and the democratization of the country are inseparable. That was the reason why he has insisted on the use both the words "unification" and "democratization" in the names of organizations which he initiated both within and outside of Korea.

As for the process for achieving this goal, he is a firm believer in a peaceful and rational process. He believes that violence only breeds violence, resulting in a vicious circle. Therefore, he urged students not to come out into the streets last May. That is why he repeatedly tried to have dialogue with the late President Park, Chung Hee and his prime minister, Choi, Kyu Ha. Before his arrest, he even requested to have dialogue with General Chun to discuss common concerns of the nation.

He particularly abhors any form of political revenge which marrs the pages of political history in Korea. He thinks that the desire for revenge is the ugliest and lowest level of barbarism in the human being, and that it must be purged, or else the vicious circle of evil will continue forever. Thus, he has repeatedly appealed that any form of political revenge should be stopped. Recently the death sentence was handed down to him. In the courtroom his concluding remark was, "I pray that I will be the last victim of political revenge by the military tribunal in this country."

There are people who think that Kim, Dae Jung is too optimistic and tends to oversimplify problems. They interpret his recent actions which led him to the military court and brought upon him the death sentence in this light, saying that he should have taken the intention of the military leaders more seriously. That may be true. And if it is true, then how can anyone accuse him of being shrewd and crafty? As for the actions he took in the earlier part of this year which led to his arrest and trial, he was fully aware of the risk he was taking. He spoke against the interim government and urged a speedy recovery of democratic rule with the full awareness of the possible consequences to himself. From the beginning, he knew very well the intention of the military leaders while other political leaders tried to ignore it in a desperate attempt to convice other political leaders that nothing was really improving was completely ignored. Being fully aware of the risk, he still felt he had to speak out. Otherwise, it would be like surrendering to the enemy without a fight, and this would have a detrimental effect upon the people's movement for freedom and justice in the years to come. He believes that the tree of democracy is nurtured by the blood of freedom-loving people, and he would rather be one of them even if it means risking his own life. The recent indictment that brought him the death sentence said that he was too idealistic, crafty and opportunistic to live. I say that he was too straightforward, conscientious, and faithful to the cause of democracy to have a smooth sailing in life.

(Concluded) (From the November 1980 issue of "Korea Scope" published by International Christian Network for Democracy in Korea based in New York)

SHORT NEWS FROM SEOUL

Jan. 29

- Four leaders of Kuktong Electric Wire Industrial Company including the company's executives, representative directors were indicted for discharging poisonous waste water into the Han River for five years. It contained hydrocholoric acid and sulfuric acid used for removing impurities in the wire manufacturing process.

Feb. 6

- According to a Tong-A Ilbo report dated Feb. 4, U.S. president Reagan decided to sell 36 F-16 airplanes to south Korea.
- The ministry of agriculture and fisheries announced that the amount of rice south Korea had bought from foreign countries since the end of 1980 in order to overcome serious rice shortages, reached 11 million *sok* by the end of January.

Feb. 10

- The appelate court martial sentenced seven journalists including So Dong Gu, former Munhwa Broadcasting Society, Kyongyang Sinmun investigation bureau chief to penalties ranging from three years' imprisonment to three years' stay of execution. They were found guilty of charges of violating the martial-law proclamation.

Feb. 12

- The Chon Du Hwan regime organised the south Korea-Japan Economic Council (Chairman, Pak Tae Jun, president of the Pohang Iron Manufacturing Company) to centralize economic cooperation with Japan.

Chon's Profile

(Continued from page 5)

Chun Doo Hwan's bid for power.

Most of the group are from North Kyongsang Province and from the 11th class (1952-55) of the Korea Military Academy. Some are related to Chun by blood or marriage. They are called the Taegu Mafia.

The all-powerful four are:

Gen. Chun Doo Hwan, 11th KMA class, Taegu

Gen. Ro Tae Woo, capital garrison commander, 11th KMA class, Taegu

Gen. Kim Puk Tong, chief of staff of the third army, 11th KMA class, Taegu

Gen. Chung Ho Yung, commander of the Special Warfare Brigade, 11th KMA class, Taegu

The four mobilized their troops for the Dec. 12, 1979 army purge. They command the elite forces of the south Korean military, the troops deployed in and around Seoul.

The next three in the power structure are:

Gen. Hwang Yung Shi, deputy army chief of staff, 11th KMA class, North Kyongsang Province

Gen. Lee Hui Sung, martial-law commander and army chief of staff, elder brother-in-law to Gen. Chun, 8th KMA class, South Kyongsang Province

Gen. Yoo Hak Sarng, commander of the third army, North Kyongsang Province

This group of seven is supported by the following five generals:

Gen. Ryoo Byung Hyun, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, 7th KMA class, North Choong chung Province

Gen. Paek Suk Choo, deputy commander of U.S.-south Korea combined Forces Command, 8th KMA class, South Kyongsang Province

Gen. Yoon Sung Min, commander of the first army, 9th KMA class, South Cholla Province

Gen. Chin Jung Chae, commander of the second army, 8th KMA class, North Kyongsang Province

Gen. Cha Kyu Hun, president of the KMA, 8th KMA class, Kyunggi Province

4. American Military Stakes

American stakes in south Korea are unquestionable.

The United States has operational command over the south Korean forces under the following agreements:

(1) President Syngman Rhee's letter dated July 15, 1950, transferring operational command over the south Korean forces to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, commander-in-chief of the UN forces. This is known as the Taejon agreement.

(2) The U.S.-south Korea agreement dated November 11, 1954, reaffirming the Taejon agreement.

(3) The May 26, 1961 joint statement of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction and the U.N. Command, reaffirming UN command over the south Korean forces except for the Capital Garrison and the Airborne Special Warfare Brigade, placed under army headquarters.

(4) The November, 1978 activated U.S.-south Korea Combined Forces Command.

By these agreements, Gen. Wickham has under his command the main forces of the south Korean ground forces—the field forces composed of the first army (three corps, 12 divisions) guarding the western section of the frontline along the 38th Parallel, and the third army (two corps, nine divisions) deployed along the eastern section of the frontline. The second army, forming the rear reserve force, is also under his command. The navy and the air force of the south Korean forces are also under his command.

The training of the south Korean forces is American; most of the officers corp received their training in the United States. Weapons are mostly American-made or produced locally under license.

5. U.S. Financial Stakes

American aid covering the period from 1949-79 (as of June, 1979) breaks down as follows:

Military aid—$8,663,900,000

Economic aid—$5,944,200,000

Grand total—$14,608,100,000

(Source: AID, The Ton-A Ilbo, Jun. 17, 1980)

American loans and credits to south Korea totalled $5.8 billion, about 40 percent of south Korea's total foreign debts of $13.5 billion, as of the end of June, 1979. (Hap-tong Annual, 1980). Foreign debts rose to $30 billion by the end of 1980, a two-fold increase in one year.

American direct capital investments in south Korea are estimated at $1 billion. There are 600 American companies and 400 Japanese concerns that together form about 50 percent of the industrial base of south Korea.

With a food self-supply rate at only 50 percent, south Korea sought 800,000 tons of rice, then another 700,000 tons from Japan, and bought two million tons of wheat mostly from the United States. Oil refineries are joint ventures with the American corporations Gulf Oil, Caltex and Union Oil.

6. Achievements

Chun claims credit for the following:

the slaughter of Vietnamese people

the 1973 arrest of Gen. Yoon Pil Ryung, commander of the Capital Garrison Command

the 1974 arrest of several thousand students and intellectuals in connection with the Minchyung-hakryun (the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students), including poet Kim Chi Ha.

The crackdown on the democratic opposition forces in the wake of the anti-Yushin struggle

the December 1979 arrest of over 40 generals on charges of high treason and corruption

the 1980 purge of nearly 10,000 government employees said to be guilty of corruption

the May 17 arrest of Kim Dae Jung

the May Massacre of Kwangju, in which more than 2,000 citizens were killed and another 15,000 wounded.

III. POTENTIAL RISK

Gen. Chun was successful in his power grab, and established his own brand of Yushin dictatorship in a way that sowed the seeds of future trouble:

(1) His airborne troops killed more than 2,000 of his fellow countrymen, and wounded a further 15,000 in Kwangju, an action that is impermissible for the military forces of any country.

(2) Open military and political support was given by the United States to Gen. Chun's seizure of power.

(3) The behavior of Gen. Chun Doo Hwan has made an indelible split within the military establishment, a grave error.

Many generals and offices, faithful to the ousted military leaders—Gen. Kim Jae Gyu, Gen. Chung Soon Hwa, Gen. Lee Hu Rak and Gen. Kim Jong Pil > harbor deep hatred for Gen. Chun.

AP, on Aug. 8, 1980, quoted Gen. Wickham as saying that he discouraged an anti-Chun coup attempt by some unnamed disgruntled generals. Rumors are widespread that young officers are bitterly opposed to Gen. Chun's seizure of power.

Le Monde, on Sep. 9, 1980, observed:

> The loss of American credibility in Korea may bode ill for future relations between the two countries. Nobody knows how long the Chun regime can last. In not distancing itself from the generals – August 27 electoral farce changed nothing – the U.S. identified with them.
>
> "This is a political mistake which could one day have important consequences on America's presence in a country where for years the opposition relied on an America which they now see to be a Utopia."

The Asian Wall Street Journal, on Oct. 22, 1980, sounded an alarm:

> "... the American position has led to what is for south Korea an unprecedented development – stirrings of anti-American sentiments among a strongly anti-Communist and deeply pro-Western population ..."
>
> "... American residents in Seoul say the feeling exists in the capital as well ... it is likely that such sentiments will become even more widespread in the future."

The continuing economic woes left behind by Gen. Park Chung Hee, may well spark the long-smoldering grievances of the people.

A very significant incident occurred on Jan. 30, 1981 in Seoul. South Korea's reported first anti-American labor violence involved 21 militant Peace Market textile workers who threatened to kill themselves, together with an American hostage, George Curtin. The implications were very grave: American economic stakes in south Korea could become targets of labor violence.

The economic mess is so disquieting: Last year saw inflation running at the rate of 44.2 percent, the GNP declined by 5.7 percent, trade deficits reached $6 billion, foreign debts now total $30 billion, and the grain harvest fell by 30 percent. The jobless rate rose to 5.7 percent.

Misery Index = 44.2 + 2 x 5.7 – 4 x (–6.7) = plus 88.4. The higher the figure, the greater the misery. Compare this figure with plus 24.2 for the United Kingdom, plus 13.7 for the United States, plus 10.2 for Italy, minus 5.9 for West Germany and minus 16.8, Japan.

The Chun regime's American-educated economic policy-makers are in no position to provide any effective recipe for economic recovery.

The export-led economy created by Park produced its own momentum, with millions of exploited workers. When their livelihood showed no hope of improvement, they became a formidable danger to be suppressed, as shown in the October 1979 Pusan-Masan uprising, and the April 1980 Sabok miners strike; Kwangju was a significant prelude.

The New York Times in its Feb. 2, 1981 editorial wrote:

> "If his (Reagan) toasts become a shade too effusive, his words could haunt him as surely as Jimmy Carter's accolades to the shah of Iran."

The Far Eastern Economic Review wrote on Jan. 30, 1981:

> "A more realistic challenge to the Chun regime thus rests not with the institutional opposition groups but with the underground dissident movement that caused so much trouble under Park's Yushin system.
>
> "But the longer-term stability of the Chun regime will depend on how it.

Remember this! Park Chung Hee was killed by one of his confidants, not at the hands of agents from Pyongyang. Guns and money did not save his life. The Americans make it a practice to choose as a new local surrogate any man who survives the principle of the survival of the fittest. For them, a local client is a mere expendable good. When Park was found a liability, his fate was sealed. It is also true of the new strongman Chun Doo Hwan.

United States Vs El Salvador: Another Vietnam

The United States is fast falling into the quagmire of another Vietnam in El Salvador, declaring it a "textbook case of Russian penetration."

The U.S. policy, supposed to take advantage of the El Salvadoran case to improve American standing, is boomeranging. As it turns out, however, U.S. action is producing little enthusiasm even within the U.S. allies in Western Europe and in Latin America.

The Reagan Administration has already sent over $0 military advisers and great sums of military and economic aid to El Salvador and is now studying plans for an even deeper involvement.

The State Department released a document entitled "Communist Interference in El Salvador" and charged the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries with sending arms and other equipment to El Salvador in an attempt to impose a socialist regime there.

Rubin Zamora, one of the leaders of the Salvadoran revolution said, "The United States is up to its neck in support for a genocidal government and has presented documents as a cover-up for continued backing of the Salvadoran junta." (Newsweek, March 9, 1981)

"I fear," he said, "this could be a justification for the Reagan government to intervene militarily in El Salvador. It's so similar to what the United States was saying just before its 1965 intervention in Dominican Republic."

Local Grievances

Product of Repression

Allegations that El Salvador presents the gravest current threat to American security, that the communists abroad were the main reason for its misery and that U.S. arms were a likely cure, are all false.

"El Salvador is a tiny country distinguished by a particularly brutal history and used the armed forces to keep the peasants in subjection. What is going on now is the rpsult of that system and the inevitable desire to change it," The New York Times said in a recent signed article.

Decades of U.S.-supported authoritarian rule have been the cause of present disturbances, maldistribution of wealth, widespread poverty, a high rate of illiteracy and continuing denial of democracy.

The revolution in El Salvador is not an external communist invention. Public grievances have generated long-suppressed aspirations for sweeping social, political and economic changes.

Testifying before a Congressional subcommittee, Robert White, the former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador said, "The revolution in El Salvador had been caused by social injustice, not by communist meddlers from the outside."

"The chief killer of Salvadorans," he charged, "is the government security forces."

A gruesome example of the slaughter was described in the London Sunday Times of Feb. 22.

The paper said, "Almost 300 peasants in El Salvador were massacred by Honduran and El Salvadoran troops in a border cleaning operation."

Members of Orden, El Salvador's right-wing paramilitary organization, meanwhile, threw babies and young children into the air, slashing them with machetes, cutting off their heads and slitting them in two, the paper quoted witnesses as saying.

This massacre is a serious error, further alienating the people from the military government and magnifying their resentment, U.S. support and the brutal policy of the generals are their own enemy.

Little Support for Reagan's Ideas

In the Korean War, the Americans managed to enlist the support of over a dozen countries in the war effort.

During the Vietnam War, a few countries sent a token number of support troops to help the U.S.

But this time, military regimes in West Germany broke with the U.S. line by offering efforts at political mediation between the military government and the opposition forces. The French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet, visiting Washington, stated the problems in El Salvador could not be solved by purely military means.

Bonn, Paris and other Western Governments are well aware that the situation in that tiny Latin American country is a product of local injustice in forms of massive poverty, inequality and oppression.

The action taken by Reagan and Haig is creating the specter of Vietnam across the United States, rising to public fear of another large-scale military involvement.

For the public, there is an apparent parallel with Vietnam: first, the dispatch of a small number of military advisers, then, after some casualties, the sending of combat troops to guard then, and finally, the commitment of massive troops, to be defeated at the local people's hands.

Many Democrats, a majority in the House and a minority in the Senate, take issue with the dispatch of military advisers to El Salvador and urge the White House not to support any military take over.

Faced with mounting public outcries, Reagan went out of his way to disavow—whopping lie—American endorsement to a military coup by the right-wing generals.

Senate Democratic leader Robert Byrd said on Mar. 7 that President Reagan should make it clear that the United States will not support a right-wing take over in the Latin American country.

Draws the Line

Dispite public protests at home and abroad, the Reagan Administration is increasing military and economic assistance to the military regime in El Salvador. Washington obviously wants a victory over what it alleges "Communism."

For the Americans, anything which is at odds with their security and their vested interests is the work of Communists. They regard Latin America as their quiet backyard under the so-called Monroe Doctrine. A tempest in any given country in the region is upsetting, even it is a result of that country's domestic repression and injustice.

A generation ago and a half world away, The New York Times wrote, south Korea was chosen to be the place where the line was drawn against the socialist camp. President Reagan has chosen El Salvador to be this generation's and this hemisphere's south Korea.

Reagan and his followers are determined to stem what they call the socialist winning streak—Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen and Nicaragua—by taking El Salvador as a typical case of testing American strength.

Yet, all signs are that the United States is headed for a new diplomatic and moral, and possibly military, debacle. Eventually, the United States will find itself again a helpless giant, isolated and abandoned by friends and the world public.

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